

Defense Diplomacy in Peace Time to Strengthening Military Partnership and Enhancing Defense Capabilities between Indonesia and France through the Acquisition of Rafale Jets

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Abstract

Defence diplomacy, also referred to as military diplomacy, involves the peaceful utilization of armed forces to enhance a nation's diplomatic relations and advance its global objectives. This is achieved through various means such as officer exchanges, joint training initiatives, cultural interactions, and reciprocal naval visits, among others. This abstract explores the significance of defense diplomacy during times of peace in strengthening military partnerships and enhancing defense capabilities between Indonesia and France, with a specific focus on the acquisition of Rafale jets. Defense diplomacy serves as a crucial tool for fostering international relations and promoting regional stability. The procurement of advanced military aircraft such as the Rafale jets not only bolsters Indonesia's defense capabilities but also deepens the bilateral defense cooperation between the two nations. This research will use qualitative research methods. This research was conducted using a qualitative descriptive research approach utilizing the literature review method. The literature review was performed by the researcher by utilizing various secondary data sources such as books, journal articles, press releases, news articles, as well as institutional websites. The abstract highlights the benefits of the Rafale jets in terms of their advanced technology, versatility, and interoperability, enabling Indonesia to address various security challenges effectively. Moreover, it emphasizes the positive impact of this strategic acquisition on defense industry collaboration, technology transfer, and human capital development. By strengthening military partnerships and enhancing defense capabilities through the acquisition of Rafale jets, Indonesia and France can pave the way for mutually beneficial and sustainable defense cooperation, contributing to regional security and stability.

Keywords: *Defense Diplomacy, Military Partnership, Indonesia-France, Rafale Jet*

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Indonesia Law No. 43 of 2008 concerning the State Territory states that "the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, as an archipelagic nation with distinctive Nusantara characteristics, possesses sovereignty over its territory and holds sovereign rights beyond its sovereignty territory as well as specific authorities to be managed and utilized to the fullest extent for the welfare and prosperity of the Indonesian people, as mandated in the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia." Therefore, the Republic of Indonesia has sovereignty over its territory, which consists of three dimensions: land territory, maritime territory, and airspace territory, all of which form an inseparable political unit (one political unit) that cannot be divided (Wiradipradja, 2009). Airspace control and its utilization are highly valuable for the Indonesian Air Force (TNI AU) in supporting both Military Operations in War (MOW) and Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) (Sudirin, 2022).

The role of the Indonesian Air Force (TNI AU) is highly important and crucial in safeguarding the national airspace to ensure freedom from threats to national security and sovereignty. To fulfill this role, adequate infrastructure is certainly required. However, the primary weapons system of the TNI AU has several readiness limitations. This can be observed from the numerous cases of violations of the national airspace that occur due to the insufficient readiness of the existing defense equipment. This inadequacy is evident as the available defense

capabilities are not proportional to the vast expanse of the airspace that needs to be protected. Consequently, this factor hampers the effective surveillance of Indonesian airspace, which cannot be carried out optimally. This can have an impact on national sovereignty in terms of preventing threats and disruptions from outside. More serious attention to this matter is highly necessary as it concerns the security of a country, especially in the realm of airspace where maintaining air territorial integrity is the responsibility of the Indonesian Air Force (TNI AU). However, if the needs for defense equipment (Main Weapon Systems) are not met, the readiness and capability of the Indonesian Air Force in safeguarding all components of the Indonesian nation come into question (Savitri, 2020).

Maximizing air territory security is an absolute necessity to uphold sovereignty in the airspace, as without proper security, this sovereignty becomes vulnerable to airborne attacks from external parties. Therefore, the Indonesian Air Force (TNI AU), as the executing entity responsible for upholding national airspace sovereignty and law enforcement, must be accommodated in all its interests to achieve optimal national air territory security. Article 10, The Republic of Indonesia Law No. 34 Years 2004, concerning the Indonesian National Armed Forces, emphasized that the duties of the Indonesian Air Force include: Carrying out air force tasks in the defense field as part of the Indonesian National Armed Forces; Upholding the law and maintaining security in the national jurisdictional airspace in accordance with national laws and ratified international laws; Executing Indonesian National Armed Forces tasks in the development and enhancement of air force capabilities and Enabling the defense of airspace territory.

To enhance the combat capabilities of the Indonesian Air Force (TNI AU), the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, in accordance with the letter from the Minister of National Development Planning/Head of the National Development Planning Agency Number: R.387/D.8/PD.01.01/05/2023 dated May 17, 2023, regarding the Fourth Amendment to the Medium-Term Foreign Loan Plan (DRPLN-JM) for the years 2020-2024 for the Ministry of Defense, has planned upgrades and overhauls/repairs for SU-27/30, Hawk 100/200, and F-16 aircraft. However, the implementation of these aircraft upgrades and overhaul/repair activities will result in a temporary decrease in the readiness of TNI AU fighter aircraft (Suara Linggau, 2023).

The modernization of defense equipment is also part of fulfilling the Minimum Essential Force (MEF) mandated in Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 5 of 2010. MEF is an effort to standardize the military needs that need to be achieved in the context of national development in the field of defense, both in terms of strength, capability, and distribution, which then becomes one of the indicators of security stability (Public Relations of the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022).

Defense Diplomacy was used to name new tasks and international functions accomplished by the armed forces and the leadership of the Ministries of National Defense. It does not, however, mean any kind of traditional “military plus diplomacy,” where diplomacy is an appendix of some sort. The main goal of defense diplomacy is the co-formation and implementation of the state security policy, and its task is to create stable, long-term international relations in the field of defense. Conceptualization of the concept is a starting point for understanding its role as one of the most important instruments of foreign policy and the security of contemporary states (Muniruzzaman,2020).

The defense cooperation between Indonesia and France is regulated by the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA), which was signed by the Indonesian Minister of Defense, Prabowo Subianto, and the French Minister of the Armed Forces, Florence Parly, on June 28,

2021, in Paris (Ali, 2022). However, the new Rafale fighter jets will only arrive gradually, within 3-5 years from now. The order for the Rafale fighter aircraft, valued at US\$4.1 billion or nearly IDR 61.36 trillion, was made to enable Indonesia to acquire a total of 42 jet fighters. In the initial phase, Indonesia will acquire 6 units first, followed by the remaining 36 Rafale aircraft (Rizky, 2023).

The agreement between Indonesia and France in the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for the procurement of Dassault Rafale fighter jets includes offset programs and Training of Trainer (ToT) between Dassault Aviation and PT Dirgantara Indonesia in the maintenance, repair, and overhaul (MRO) of French aircraft in Indonesia, such as the upcoming Rafale as well as the Caracal helicopters and other existing fleets (Agustien, 2022). Offset is a mechanism commonly used in defense industry transactions with other countries. Offset is a countertrade mechanism that obliges the exporting country to engage in procurement or technology transfer with the importing country (Lutfiyah, 2017). The offset in the procurement of Dassault Rafale also involves technology transfer that can enhance the capability and independence of the domestic defense industry (Ahmad Afandi, 2022). Additionally, there is cooperation in defense areas such as submarine development, military telecommunications, and ammunition production development (Hariyanto, 2022). The procurement of Dassault Rafale as a fighter jet to strengthen Indonesia's defense is not solely based on the magnitude of the cooperation with France as an offset for the procurement but also considering the capabilities of the product itself, the Dassault Rafale, which is a versatile aircraft or commonly known as an "omnirole". The Dassault Rafale uses twin engines with the ability to perform attacks, reconnaissance, and nuclear deterrence, equipped with avionics, capable of firing a 30mm cannon, and has laser-guided bombs and ammunition for ground attacks (Dwiharpini, 2017).

According to (Sarjito, 2023) one of the main objectives of defense diplomacy is to enhance military cooperation among allied countries in order to strengthen the collective defense capabilities of all parties involved. Defense diplomacy refers to a country's armed forces' efforts to build and maintain positive relationships with foreign military and government entities for mutual security benefits. Its fundamental idea is to utilize military and defense policies as tools to promote peace, stability, and international security. According to Carlson and Herbst (2021), defense diplomacy involves a range of activities in which traditional military exercises, collective training and education, and military equipment sales are just one part.

The acquisition of Rafale jets by Indonesia from France is a significant milestone in their defense collaboration. The Rafale is a versatile fighter aircraft known for its advanced technology and combat capabilities. This acquisition allows Indonesia to modernize its air force, protect its sovereignty, and ensure territorial integrity. The Rafale deal offers more than just military capabilities. It enables technology transfer, knowledge sharing, and industrial cooperation between the two nations. France's expertise in aerospace technology can contribute to Indonesia's domestic defense industry, promoting economic growth and job creation in both countries.

Additionally, defense diplomacy between Indonesia and France serves as a model for regional stability in Southeast Asia. Indonesia's strategic location makes it crucial to maintain a balance of power and respond to security challenges effectively. Closer cooperation between the two countries can deter threats and contribute to regional security. In summary, defense diplomacy plays a vital role in strengthening military partnerships and enhancing defense capabilities during peacetime. The acquisition of Rafale jets by Indonesia from France signifies a significant step in their defense collaboration, benefiting both nations and promoting regional stability in Southeast Asia. Indonesia and France exemplify the potential of such partnerships in fostering peace, security, and prosperity.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research will use qualitative research methods. Qualitative research methods emphasize understanding the social world through the interpretation of data sources and participants in this study. In addition, qualitative research tends to be constructionist in that social phenomena should be understood as the result of interactions between humans (Bryman, Alan 2012). Qualitative data collection essentially involves primary data and secondary data. In primary data collection, researchers gather data by conducting in-depth interviews to extract information regarding the formulated issues. For secondary data, it involves retrieving and analyzing existing data previously collected by other researchers. The methods for gathering data in this study include searching for information through a literature review (library research), such as books, journals, articles, online books and journals, and official websites, relevant to the research

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Bilateral relations between France and Indonesia

Cooperation relations between Indonesia and France. It has existed since the early 19th century during the colonial period Dutch East Indies. Bilateral relations between Indonesia and France in the field of defense has been intertwined since September in 1950. Bilateral relations tend to be harmonious. This is intertwined because there are similarities between the principles of foreign policy and the adopted foreign policy by Indonesia and France. Indonesia adheres to foreign policy active free country, while the French refer to it as French Independence Politique. The principle becomes foundation for good bilateral relations the country (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). First visit French President François Mitterrand to Indonesia on September 16, 1986 agreed to the agreement cooperation within the French Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (IFCCI) which has been officially opened with the aim of bringing together French business groups and Indonesia in order to develop relations professionals between the two countries (Firman, 2017).

Procurement History of Rafale Jets in Indonesia

1. (May 2021) The Ministry of Defense discussed the plan to acquire defense equipment for five strategic plans until 2044, with an estimated budget of around Rp. 1,750 trillion. The procurement was proposed to be completed by 2024.
2. (June 2021) Minister of Defense, Prabowo Subianto, signed an agreement on agreed cooperation, including intelligence, training and military education, as well as defense industry collaboration.
3. (October 2021) Indonesia explored the purchase of F-15EX jets from Boeing in the United States and Rafale jets from Dassault Aviation in France.
4. (December 2021) Indonesia canceled the purchase of 11 SU-35 fighter aircraft from Russia. The plan for purchasing fighter jets narrowed down to the Rafale jets from France and the F-15EX from the United States.
5. (February 2022) Indonesia agreed to purchase up to 42 Rafale fighter jets from France. Indonesia also explored the purchase of 2 Scorpene-class submarines from France (Kompas, 2022).

Rafale VS Mirage 2000

The Ministry of Defense has purchased 12 Mirage 2000-5 fighter jets, which were previously used by Qatar. The aircraft were acquired for a price of US\$792 million, or approximately Rp 12 trillion. The purchase was facilitated through the trading agency Excalibur International, a unit of the Czechoslovak Group (CSG), a defense company based in the Czech Republic.

The jets will be delivered to Indonesia within 24 months from the date of purchase. According to the Ministry of Defense spokesperson, Edwin Adrian Sumantha, there are specific reasons for this acquisition. Indonesia requires fighter jets that can be quickly deployed to cover the declining combat readiness of the Air Force fleet.

The Mirage 2000-5 is a French-made fighter aircraft manufactured by Dassault Aviation, the same company that produces the Rafale. The aircraft's production began in the 1970s. It is worth noting that the purchase of the Mirage 2000-5 is intended for training and transitioning purposes before the arrival of the Rafale.

According to Dassault Aviation's website, the Mirage 2000 is a supersonic, single-engine, delta-winged, fourth-generation multirole fighter aircraft produced by Dassault Aviation. The fighter aircraft was initially designed as a lightweight fighter based on the Dassault Mirage III in the late 1970s for the French Air Force. Over time, the Mirage 2000 evolved into a successful multirole aircraft with several developed variants (Rizky, 2023).

RAFALE	THE MIRAGE 2000
Aircraft Type: Narrow-body	Crew: 1 person
Wings: Fixed-wing	Length: 14.36 meters
Wing Type Configuration: M	Wingspan: 9.13 meters
Type Code: L2J	Height: 5.20 meters
Engine: Jet	Wing area: 41 m ²
Engine Count: Multi	Empty weight: 7,500 kg
Wing Span: 10.80 meters	Loaded weight: 13,800 kg
Length: 15.27 meters	Maximum takeoff weight: 17,000 kg
Height: 5.34 meters	Engine: 1 x SNECMA M53-P2 afterburning turbofan, dry thrust 64.3 kN (14,500 lbf), and thrust with afterburner 95.1 kN (21,400 lbf)
Powerplant: 2 x turbofan snecma M88-2	Guns: 2 x 30 mm (1.18 in) DEFA 554 revolver cannons, 125 rounds per gun.
Engine Model: SNECMA M88.	Hardpoints: Total of 9 hardpoints, including 4 x under-wing and 5 x under-fuselage, with a capacity of 6,300 kg (13,900 lb) for external fuel and ordnance.
	Rockets: Matra 68 mm unguided rocket pods, 18 rockets per pod.
	Missiles: The aircraft is equipped with 2 types of missiles, air-to-air missiles, and air-to-surface missiles.
	Bombs: There are 9 types of Mk.82 bombs.

Figure 1. Difference between Rafale and Mirage 2000

Source: Kompas (2023)

Indonesia's Acquisition of Rafale Jets a Controversial Move Shaping Regional Security Dynamics

United States of America

According to the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, the initial plan to purchase Sukhoi SU-35 from Russia cannot be carried out due to constraints related to the threat of CAATSA sanctions and OFAC List from the United States. Uncle Sam, as the country is commonly known, is currently stringent in prohibiting other countries from buying weapons from Russia. If violated, the US has the ability to impose sanctions in the form of an embargo on countries that refuse to comply (Fadillah, 2023).

The next President of the United States, Donald Trump, implemented the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) in 2017 as a sanction against countries deemed to pursue problematic policies in terms of international law. One of the countries targeted by these sanctions was Russia, which was seen as problematic due to its annexation of Crimea from Ukraine (Riza, 2022). The ability of the CAATSA law to influence the policies of other countries in their international economic interactions poses a threat to free trade. Free trade ensures that industries can compete across national borders without the interference of governments.

However, in this case, free trade faces obstacles in the form of US policies that have the power to threaten and pressure other countries in their international economic interactions using the CAATSA law. The CAATSA law impedes countries that have relations with Russia from engaging in cooperation in the military and defense industries. This situation certainly harms Russia's military and defense trade as their customers face threats from the US (Hastami, 2023).

Russia

In 2018, Indonesia agreed to purchase 11 units of Sukhoi Su-35 aircraft worth a total of \$1.14 billion through a barter system with Russia. However, the transaction has yet to materialize amid concerns that Indonesia could face sanctions from the United States for buying weapons from Moscow (Nirmala, 2021). In 2021, Russia insisted that the fulfillment of the contract for the procurement of Sukhoi Su-35 aircraft to Indonesia was still ongoing. Through the spokesperson of the Federal Service for Technical-Military Cooperation, Valeria Reshetnikova, Russia stated that it was ready to supply 11 Sukhoi Su-35 aircraft to Indonesia, despite various pressures on Indonesia from other countries (Jatmiko, 2021).

Previously, the Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, Lyudmila Vorobieva, in her interview with CNBC Indonesia in 2020, stated that the cooperation agreement for the procurement of Sukhoi Su-35 with Indonesia would continue along with various other defense cooperation under the ministries of defense of both countries (Indonesia, 2020). However, Russia's determination to maintain defense cooperation with Indonesia by supplying Sukhoi Su-35 aircraft ultimately failed. Indonesia officially announced the cancellation of the procurement of Sukhoi Su-35 from Russia. By the end of the year in December 2021, Indonesia had agreed to remove Sukhoi Su-35 from the list of planned fighter aircraft acquisitions (Giozavanti, 2021). The Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, Lyudmila Vorobieva, stated that Indonesia has the full right to purchase military equipment from any country. However, the Russian Ambassador expressed doubts about the smoothness of the Rafale purchase. The agreement with Rafale will not be as swift as it may appear (Tommy, 2022).

Korea

Korea Aerospace Industry (KAI) has revealed that the Indonesian government has not made any further payments for the KF-21 or KFX fighter jet project since 2019. The KF-21 fighter jet is an advanced aircraft development project jointly undertaken by Indonesia and South Korea. Senior Manager & Chief KFX Joint Development Management Team, Lee Sung-il, stated

that the Indonesian government has paid 17% of the total contract amount. The remaining 83% has not been paid to date. Korea has borne the majority of the cost share from 2016 to 2022. We are struggling due to budget issues, and we hope that the Indonesian government can make the payment for this project. The project has been underway since 2016 and experienced a delay until 2019. In the contract signed during the tenure of the 6th President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), Indonesia committed to purchasing 48 aircraft, while Korea committed to 128 aircraft. This is a government-to-government (G-to-G) project (Yanwardhana, 2023).

China

Hearing the news of Indonesia's purchase of Rafale fighter jets, China did not remain silent and suddenly offered its defense equipment to the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). It should be noted that previously, China also offered defense equipment to Indonesia to strengthen NKRI's military. Some analysts believe that once Indonesia and Australia are trapped in an arms race, it is highly likely that Indonesia will continue to supply weapons from France and possibly China as friendly partners, and neighboring countries are Indonesia's first choice for purchasing weapons (Pikiran Rakyat, 2022). Indonesia's defense procurement has caught the attention of China. After officially activating 6 out of 42 contracts for the purchase of French Rafale fighter jets, China has also taken notice. Indonesia's weapon purchases have deep strategic considerations, which may have subtle impacts on regional security (Suhu.com,2023).

The Chinese media also mentioned three strategic considerations behind Indonesia's simultaneous purchase of Rafale and F-15 Ex aircraft. *First*, to expand its own armed forces. Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country on the planet, located at the crossroads of Southeast Asia, the Western Pacific Ocean, and the Indian Ocean. It holds a strategic position with key waterways such as the Malacca Strait and the Sunda Strait. With the acquisition of these fighter aircraft, the Indonesian Air Force will have over 100 third-generation aircraft, the highest number among Southeast Asian nations.

Secondly, it aims to maintain surveillance and balance with neighboring countries. As the country in Southeast Asia closest to Australia, Indonesia has a close relationship with Australia. In September 2021, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia formed the AUKUS alliance, which has made Indonesia cautious. With this military expansion, Indonesia intends to purchase two conventionally powered Scorpaena-class submarines from France and also aims to enhance its overall combat capabilities to exert pressure on Australia.

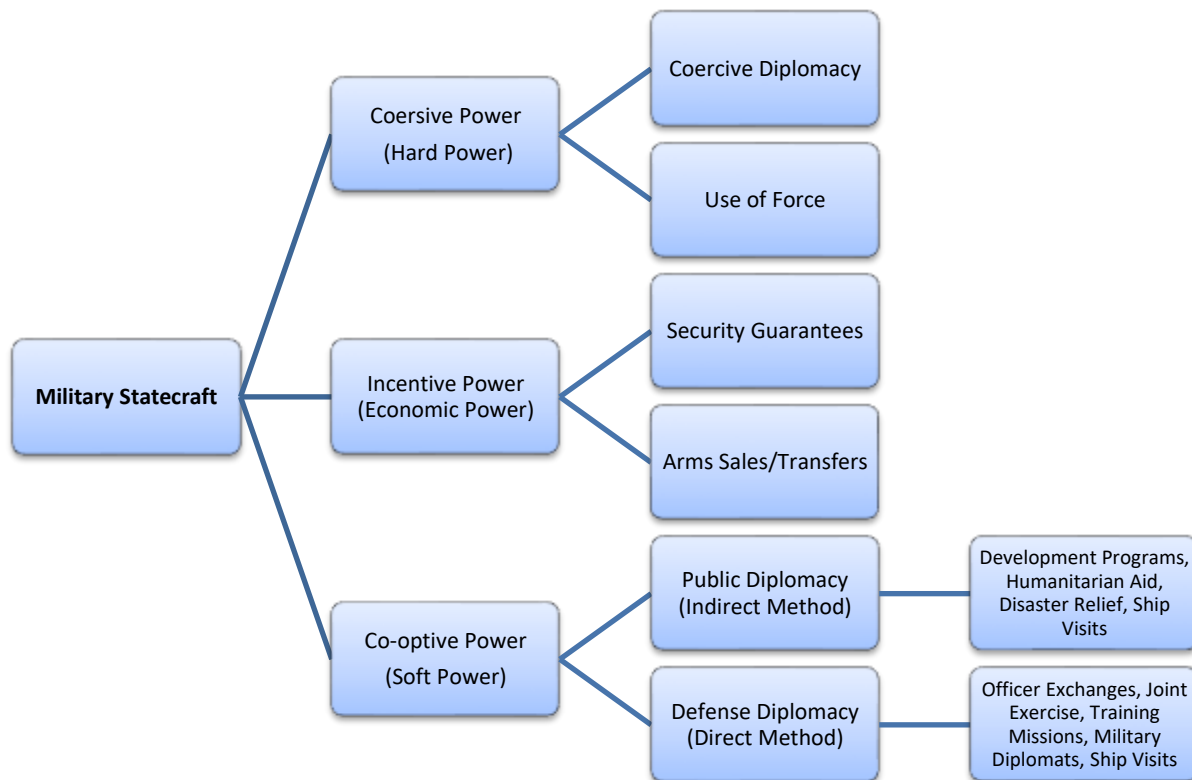
The third, consideration is to maintain a balance among major power relations. These advanced fighter aircraft provide Indonesia with enhanced air capabilities and bolster its defense capabilities. The move helps Indonesia assert itself as a regional power and safeguards its territorial integrity. Additionally, the acquisition of Rafale jets strengthens Indonesia's defense cooperation with France, a major global power. This strategic move not only boosts Indonesia's military preparedness but also sends a message to other major powers in the region about its commitment to maintaining a balanced power dynamic.

Theory of Defense Diplomacy

Defense diplomacy, as an instrument of statecraft, facilitates collaboration between nations to address common security challenges. It involves building relationships, promoting dialogue, and fostering trust among military establishments. In peacetime, defense diplomacy serves as a proactive approach to preempt conflicts and forge strategic partnerships, leading to greater regional stability.

Defense Diplomacy Activities
Bilateral and multilateral contacts between senior military and civilian defense officials.
Appointment of defense attaches to foreign countries.
Bilateral defense cooperation agreements.
Training of foreign military and civilian defense personnel.
Provision of expertise and advice on democratic control of armed forces, defense management, and military-technical areas.
Contacts and exchanges between military personnel and units, and ship visits.
Placement of military or civilian personnel in partner countries' defense ministries and armed forces (exchanges).
Deployment of training teams.
Provision of military equipment and other material aid.
Bilateral or multilateral military exercise for training purposes.

Figure2: Defense Diplomacy Activities
Source: Andrew Colley, Oxford University Press (2004)



Source: Winger (2014)

A basic understanding of Defense Diplomacy is a set of activities carried out mainly by the representative of the defense ministry, as well as other state institutions, aimed at pursuing the foreign policy interest of the state in the field of security and defense policy, and whose actions are based on the use of negotiations and other diplomatic instruments (Mehta, 2018).

Defense diplomacy is another key aspect of confidence-building measures in the Asia-Pacific region. It involves the use of military and defense resources to engage in diplomatic activities, such as joint exercises, military-to-military dialogues, and other cooperative security activities. Defense diplomacy can help to build trust and cooperation between regional partners, while also promoting regional stability and security. Defense diplomacy can play a vital role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, by providing a platform for open and transparent communication between regional partners. (Laksmana, 2012) categorizes defense diplomacy into three functions: confidence-building measures (CBMs), defense capabilities enhancement, and defense industrial development; each of which is served through various forms of activities. Defense diplomacy is paramount of importance to improve Confidence Building Measures (CBM) to maintain the relationship among participating countries (Wilujeng et al., 2021).

According to (Asmoro, 2017), defense diplomacy is expected to create a conducive strategic environment for Indonesia. The main objective of CBM is the attempt to cultivate good relationships with other countries to equalize perceptions and create favorable bilateral and transparent cooperation. It is expected that by putting out this effort, tensions of mutual suspicion and threatening each other will be reduced. Hence, the development of the military capability of a country will not be misinterpreted as a threat to other countries.

On the other hand, Rolfe (2015) stated that defense diplomacy can foster more constructive and inclusive interactions if it prioritizes stability and security over military force (hard power) and political interests. There are at least nine benefits of military and civilian cooperation in defense diplomacy, including:

1. Reduction in hostility or tensions.
2. Symbolic positioning by signaling a willingness to work with and trust interlocutors.
3. A more competent armed force with a commitment to accountability mechanisms.
4. Transparency in terms of capacity and intentions.
5. Development and reinforcement of good relationships with partners.
6. Changing perceptions of each other.
7. Confidence building.
8. Encouragement through incentives and rewards.
9. Building a domestic constituency for the armed forces.

It is safe to say that confidence-building measures have a growing role to play in preventing war, whether nuclear or conventional, stabilizing the strategic and regional situation, settling regional conflicts, and managing various kinds of crises. They are increasingly recognized in foreign-policy departments and academic quarters as a major means of averting a surprise attack and preventing covert war preparations. Confidence-building measures help one side interpret correctly the actions of the other side in a pre-crisis situation through an exchange of reliable and uninterrupted information on each other's intentions (Shcherbak & United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research., 1991).

Hard Power, Soft Power, and Smart Power in Diplomacy

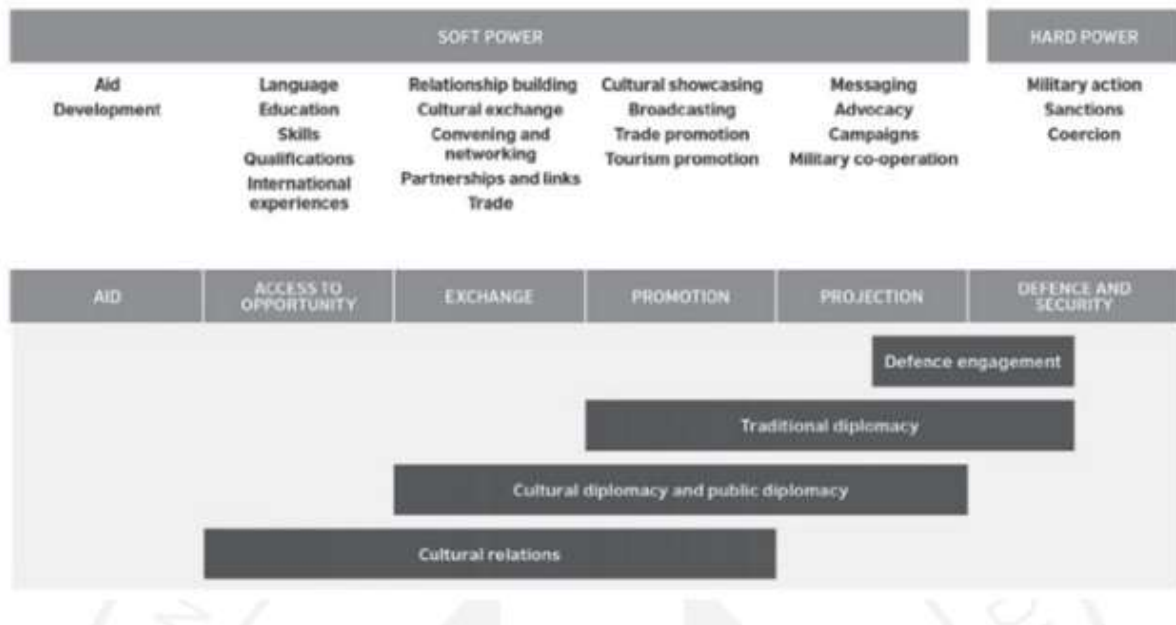
The key functions of diplomacy, as codified in the Vienna Convention and practiced since centuries, are in full effect on the art and science of effective representation, communication and negotiation. So, when discussing diplomacy and foreign policy, the concerns of soft power versus hard power arise, such as: Which the method is better—deterrence or the carrots-and-sticks maneuver? Or imposing economic sanctions, forces, or by exchanging values, policies and establishing public diplomacy?

Traditionally, in hard power diplomacy, dominant regional powers often pursued hard power as a primary means to establish control over smaller neighboring states. Hard power involved using military force or economic pressure to compel these states into submission. It was a tangible and measurable approach, yielding visible and somewhat predictable outcomes in the short term. However, it had limitations, being short-lived despite its immediate impact. An alternative strategy is to leverage economic power, which relies on providing incentives rather than direct force. This approach entails powerful states offering economic rewards such as trade opportunities, investments, and joint ventures as an inducement for cooperation from smaller states. Conversely, economic power can also be employed as a form of punishment, where powerful states impose economic sanctions and control over borders to influence non-compliant smaller states.

On the other hand, soft power refers to the ability to shape the preferences of others through cultural exchanges and understanding, co-option, and influence based on context and necessity. This is different; the effects are intangible, hard to measure, and unpredictable. Joseph Nye's concept of 'soft power' is more nuanced, famously coined in the late 1980s as "*the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion*" (Worne,2015).

Soft power adds to the international relations realm the much broader suite of activities and attributes, which totals to a nation's 'power of attraction.'

Figure 2. Diplomacy and Hard and Soft Power
 Source: Worne (2015)



Analyze the potential purchase of Rafale jets by Indonesia in Hard and/or Soft Power Diplomacy

- 1. Military Capability (Hard Power):** The Rafale is a modern and highly capable multirole fighter jet, equipped with advanced technologies and weaponry. Acquiring such advanced military equipment enhances Indonesia's military capabilities and can be seen as a move to strengthen its hard power capabilities. This is particularly relevant in the context of Indonesia's strategic interests in the region, where military strength can play a significant role in deterring potential threats.
- 2. Economic Ties (Economic Power):** The purchase of Rafale jets involves significant economic ties between Indonesia and France. It creates a closer relationship between the two countries through defense contracts, technology transfer, and training programs. This type of cooperation can foster stronger diplomatic ties and enhance soft power by promoting cultural exchange and mutual understanding between the nations.
- 3. Regional Influence (Soft Power):** By acquiring advanced military technology like the Rafale jets, Indonesia may enhance its standing and influence in the region. Having sophisticated defense capabilities can signal Indonesia's commitment to regional security and stability, potentially leading to greater cooperation with neighboring countries.

According to Chester A. Crocker, smart power "involves the strategic use of diplomacy, persuasion, capacity building, and the projection of power and influence in ways that are cost-effective and have political and social legitimacy" – essentially the engagement of both military force and all forms of diplomacy (Crocker, 2007). Soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment. A country's soft power rests on its resources of culture, values, and policies. A smart power strategy combines hard and soft power resources. Public diplomacy has a long history as a means of promoting a country's soft power and was essential in winning the cold war. The current struggle against transnational terrorism is a struggle to win hearts and minds, and the current overreliance on hard

power alone is not the path to success. Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of smart power, but smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of the roles of credibility, self-criticism, and civil society in generating soft power (Nye, 2008).

The potential purchase of Rafale jets by Indonesia can be considered a smart power diplomacy move. By combining elements of hard power (military capability enhancement) and soft power (economic ties and regional influence), Indonesia can demonstrate its strategic intent while also building stronger diplomatic relations and cooperation with France and other regional actors. Smart power diplomacy seeks to achieve national interests through a balanced approach that leverages both hard and soft power resources effectively, and the purchase of Rafale jets seems to align with this approach.

The purchase of Rafale jets by Indonesia from France can be seen as an example of defense diplomacy in action. Defense diplomacy involves building relationships and promoting dialogue among military establishments, which ultimately contributes to greater regional stability. In this context, the purchase of Rafale jets signifies Indonesia's intention to enhance its defense capabilities and forge strategic partnerships with France. By procuring advanced military equipment such as the Rafale jets, Indonesia demonstrates its commitment to maintaining a credible defense posture. This acquisition can serve multiple purposes, including deterrence, protection of national interests, and enhancement of Indonesia's ability to respond to common security challenges in the region.

Moreover, defense acquisitions often involve extensive negotiations and interactions between the involved nations. These interactions provide opportunities for defense diplomats to establish and strengthen bilateral ties, facilitate technology transfer, and foster greater cooperation in defense-related areas. Such collaborations can lead to long-term partnerships, joint training exercises, and information sharing, thereby increasing the level of trust and understanding between the military establishments of the two countries.

Theory of Capacity Building and Foreign Policy

Defense diplomacy for capacity building and foreign policy is closely connected to Indonesia's purchase of Rafale jets from France. Let's explore this connection further: Capacity Building: Defense diplomacy aims to enhance a country's defense capabilities through various means, including the acquisition of advanced military equipment. Indonesia's decision to buy Rafale jets from France is a manifestation of its intent to strengthen its air defense capabilities. The Rafale jets are advanced multi-role fighters known for their capabilities in air superiority, ground attack, and reconnaissance. By acquiring these jets, Indonesia seeks to build its capacity to respond to a wide range of security challenges effectively.

Foreign Policy: Defense acquisitions, like the purchase of Rafale jets, are often driven by a country's foreign policy objectives. They serve as a tool to project power, establish strategic partnerships, and bolster diplomatic relations with other nations. Indonesia's decision to procure Rafale jets from France reflects its foreign policy goals, including diversifying its defense partnerships and fostering closer ties with France.

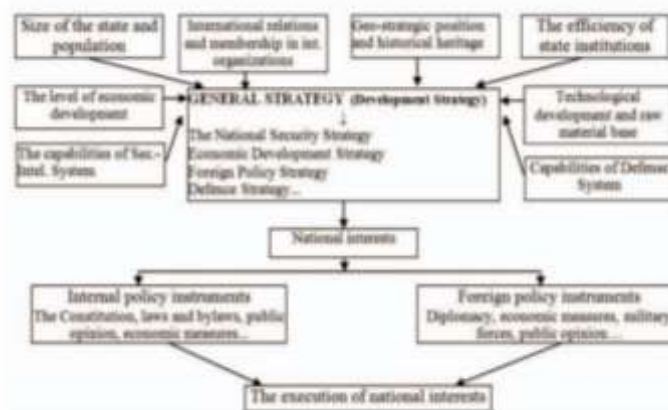


Figure: The Structure of the Factors That Define State Positions in Foreign Policy

The purchase of Rafale jets can also have broader implications for Indonesia's foreign policy in the region. It sends a signal to other countries in Southeast Asia about Indonesia's commitment to maintaining a credible defense posture and contributes to regional stability. It can also potentially shape the balance of power in the region and influence strategic dynamics. In summary, Indonesia's purchase of Rafale jets from France aligns with defense diplomacy for capacity building and foreign policy objectives. It strengthens Indonesia's defense capabilities, fosters bilateral relations, and supports its broader foreign policy goals in the region.

Theory of Decision Making

According to (Mintz,2010) Multiple Criteria Decision Making (MCDM) is a decision-making method based on theories, processes, and analytical procedures that involve uncertainty, dynamics, and aspects of various criteria. In conventional optimization methods, coverage is generally limited to only one selection criterion (mono criteria), where the selection taken is the choice that best meets the objective function. However, the problems faced, especially those of a more practical nature, are not that simple. There are times when subjective considerations must be incorporated into the decision-making process. This condition causes the conventional optimization approach to no longer to be used. MCDM provides an alternative to taking advantage of objective and subjective considerations as a basis for decision making. The problem with multiple criteria may be defined as a situation where a standard becomes a consideration for selecting an alternative that is used to:

- a. Determine the best alternative or a set of the best options (choice problem).
- b. Ranking the alternatives from best to worst (ranking problem), or divide the alternative set into alternative subsets based on multiple rules (sorting issues).

In the case of Indonesia's purchase of Rafale jets, various factors or criteria could have influenced the decision. These may include the jets' capabilities, cost-effectiveness, interoperability with existing systems, technology transfer agreements, maintenance and support, strategic partnerships, and geopolitical considerations. MCDM provides a framework to evaluate and weigh these criteria to make an informed decision.

In the context of defense acquisitions, subjective factors such as political considerations, diplomatic relations, and long-term strategic goals often come into play. Indonesia's decision to purchase Rafale jets from France may have involved subjective considerations, such as strengthening bilateral ties, diversifying defense partnerships, or signaling regional power dynamics. MCDM allows for the inclusion of such subjective factors alongside objective criteria in the decision-making process.

CONCLUSION

Defense diplomacy in peacetime is a valuable tool for building military partnerships and alliances to enhance defense capabilities. Indonesia and France have a rich history of diplomatic relations, and their defense cooperation, particularly in the army, navy, and air force sectors, has the potential to significantly strengthen their bilateral defense capabilities. The acquisition of Rafale jets presents an opportunity for Indonesia to bolster its air defense capabilities, foster closer ties with France, and increase its influence in the region. Through defense capacity building, both countries can work together to create a secure regional and global environment while reinforcing their commitment to peace and stability. Defense diplomacy in peacetime is a crucial tool for building military partnerships and alliances that enhance national defense capabilities.

For Indonesia, a military partnership with France centered around the acquisition of Rafale jets would not only strengthen its air force but also establish a platform for broader cooperation in defense technology, training, and strategic planning. By capitalizing on France's advanced defense industry, Indonesia can bolster its defense capabilities, contribute to regional stability, and advance its national security interests.

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